

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF PUERTO RICO**

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RUTH CALDERÓN-CARDONA, et al.,

Civil Action No.: 08-1367

Plaintiffs,

vs.

DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA,
a.k.a. NORTH KOREA, et al., .

Defendants.

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REPORT OF PROFESSOR ROHAN GUNARATNA

I, Rohan Gunaratna, of Nanyang, Singapore, declare pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, as follows:

A. Professional Background

1. I am a Professor of Security Studies at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies and Director of the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) at the Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.

2. I have been studying terrorist groups for over 25 years, focusing, in particular, on the phenomenon of Asian terror. I hold a doctorate in International Relations, University of St. Andrews, UK (1996-1999), as well as a masters degree in International Peace Studies from the University of Notre Dame.

3. Among other appointments, I have been a member of the Advisory Board of the , European Homeland Security Association (since 2006); since 2004, a member of the Steering Committee, George Washington University, Homeland Security Policy Institute; and the founder and member of the Board of Governors, Council for Asian Terrorism Research (CATR).

4. Since 1999, I have been an Honorary Fellow at the Interdisciplinary Centre International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism. In 2003, I founded the International Counter Terrorism Academic Community (ICTAC) and currently serve as its Vice Chairman. I am a member of the steering committee, George Washington University, Homeland Security Policy Institute, Washington DC, a position I have held since 2004. I was a founding member of the Council for Asian Terrorism Research (CATR) and have sat on its Board of Governors since its founding in 2005. I have been am an associate, since 2005, at Macquarie University's Centre for Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism. I am also a member of the advisory board of the European Homeland Security Association. From 2002-2006, I co-chaired the NATO-PfP Working Group on Counter-Terrorism, Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes, Garmisch, Germany.

5. I have held a number of fellowships in the field of international terrorism. In 1990, I had a UN Fellowship, Asian Institute of Journalism, Ateneo de Manila University, Communication Foundation for Asia, Manila. I was a visiting fellow at the Institute of Strategic Studies (ISS), Pakistan, between 1993-1996. The Ford Foundation granted me a fellowship, in 1994, at the Office of Arms Control, Disarmament, and International Security (ACDIS), University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana. I had a Foreign Policy Fellowship at the Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland, University of Maryland, College Park, 1995. I was awarded a

British Chevening Scholarship, from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office Award, UK (1996-1999). From 1999-2003, I was a senior fellow and special assistant to the chairman, Centre for the Study of Political Violence and Terrorism Research, and Fellow, University of St Andrews. This post included managing the RAND-St Andrews International Terrorism Database. I held a visiting Rosen Fellowship, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Washington DC, in 2003. From March 2003-March 2006, I was a senior fellow, at the United States Military Academy, Combating Terrorism Center, West Point. Between 2005-2008, I was a senior fellow at the Fletcher School for Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. I was a Visiting Professor, at the Centre for International and Security Studies, Sydney University, from 2007 – 2008.

6. My academic career has included editing and advising journals on the topic of international terrorism. I serve on the editorial boards of the *Journal of Terrorism and Political Violence* and the *Journal of Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. I worked on a seminal, three-volume study on terrorism, edited by James J. Forrest, “Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century.” I sat on the advisory council of the *Journal for Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism* of the Centre for Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism at Macquarie University, Sydney.

7. I have published many articles and books on terrorism, specifically on the topic of Asian terror groups: *Countering Terrorism: Can We Meet the Threat of Global Violence?* with Michael Chandler, London, (2007); *Counterterrorism: A Reference Handbook* with Graeme C.S. Steven, Contemporary World Issues, 2004; *Jane's Counter Terrorism*, with Peter Chalk, Jane's Information Group, (2002); “The Prospects of Global Terrorism”, *Society*, Sept-Oct 2005, Vol. 42 Issue 6; “Special

Report: Terror from the Sky," *Jane's Intelligence Report*, Vol. 13 No. 10, September 2001; "Transnational Terrorism: Threat and Response," *Stanford Journal of International Relations*, Vol.1 No. 5. (2001); "Strategic Counter-Terrorism: Getting Ahead of Terrorism," *Jebson Centre for Counter-Terrorism Studies Research Briefing Series*, Vol. 1 No. 1 (2006); *RAND Study on Terrorist Support Networks*, 2000; "Bankrupting the Terror Business, " *Jane's Intelligence Review*, Vol. 12, No. 8, August 2000; "Terrorist Threats Targets Asia," *Jane's Intelligence Review*, Vol. 12 No. 9, July 2000; *The State-of-the-Art in the Illicit Trafficking of Conventional Weapons: The Impact and Response of the State and the International Community*, Swiss Ministry of Defense, (2000).

8. I have testified as a court-appointed counter terrorism expert in American, Canadian, United Kingdom and Bosnia-Herzegovinan courts. Among the many expert opinions I have provided in criminal prosecutions, I contributed an expert report for the defense of John Walker Lindh in the United States; an expert report for the Crown Prosecution Service for the Leicester Special Branch, the first Al Qaeda court case in the United Kingdom, 2002; expert testimony and report for the US Department of Justice, Federal Court, Boise, Idaho, 2004; expert reports for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Force [Integrated National Security Enforcement Team] for the continued detention in 2003 of and on the website in 2004 of Momin Khawaja, the first terrorist to be prosecuted under Canada's new terrorism act, 2001; expert testimony and report for the US Department of Justice, Federal Court, Miami, Florida, Jose Padilla, the alleged Al Qaeda bomber, 2007; and an expert report for the US Department of Justice, Nuruddin Abdi, an Al Qaeda cell planning to bomb targets in Columbus, Ohio, and Washington D.C.

A true copy of my resume is attached hereto as Appendix "A".

B. Nature of This Expert Witness Report

9. I have been asked by counsel for the plaintiffs in the case of Calderon et al. v. Democratic People's Republic of Korea et al., to provide my professional opinion as to whether the defendants in this action provided material support, resources, training, weapons and refuge to the Japanese Red Army (JRA) and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), which jointly perpetrated the Lod Airport massacre of 1972, during the period relevant to that terrorist attack.

10. My opinion as set forth below is based upon my position as Director of the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research at the Nanyang Technological University, my academic studies, research, teaching positions and publishing over the course of many years as expert on international terrorism. I have obtained information from interviews with political leaders, reviews of documents, periodicals, media statements made by the terrorist organizations, credible news reports, discussions with reliable journalists, government publications, and scholarly works, as well as from my own experience, working, living and traveling in Asia, particularly in South Korea. I have reviewed the complaint filed by the plaintiffs against the defendants and agree with its stated facts and conclusions.

C. The Japanese Red Army (JRA or *Nihon Sekigun*)

11. The Japanese Red Army was an international terrorist group, active in the 1970s and 1980s. The group is described by terrorism experts and law enforcement officials as "one of the world's most dangerous terrorist organizations

because of the unpredictable and astonishingly violent nature of its attacks.”¹ With bases that provides safe haven in North Korea, Lebanon, and Libya, and support from those regimes, the group was able to mount numerous devastating terrorist attacks worldwide.² The Japanese Red Army was called, interchangeably, by three names “the Japanese Red Army,” the Red Army Faction,” and the United Red Army (hereinafter “JRA”).³ The group operated out of Japan, North Korea, Lebanon and Libya. The JRA established an ideological nexus and an operational relationship with the Palestinian Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), one of the most active terrorist groups in the Middle East. Together with PFLP, the JRA trained, organized and mounted a terrorist attack against the Lod Airport (now “Ben Gurion International Airport”) in Israel on May 30, 1970, killing 26 of which 17 were Puerto Rican pilgrims. A total of 80 were injured in the attack.⁴

D. The Creation of the JRA

12. The roots of the JRA can be traced to the Japanese Communist Party. Students who were expelled or voluntarily left the party formed the *Zengakuren*, the national student organization, in 1958.⁵ The Communist League (*Kyosanshugisha Domei*, known as the *Bund*), a major national student organization, took over the leadership of *Zengakuren*. The *Bund* split into fifty separate groups, including the Tokyo and Kansai factions in 1968. The Kansai faction of the *Bund* became known as Red Army Faction (RAF or *Sekigunha*), eventually evolving into the JRA.

¹ Combating Terrorism Yonah Alexander, *Combating Terrorism: Strategies of Ten Countries* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2002)

² “Japanese Red Army, Terrorist Group Profile,” *Terrorism*, United States Department of State, Office of the Secretary of State, Coordinator for Counter Terrorism, Volume 13, 1989, pp.73-78.

³ William R. Farrell, *Blood and Rage: The Story of the Japanese Red Army* (Lexington Books, Lexington, Massachusetts, 1990), p. 257.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 129

⁵ Patricia G. Steinhoff, “Hijackers, Bombers, and Bank Robber: Managerial Style in the Japanese Red Army, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 48, no. 4 (November 1989), p. 724-6.

13. After the JRA's carrying out several terrorist attacks, the Japanese police began heavy surveillance of its suspected members, making it difficult for the radical group to continue operating from Japan. The JRA established a presence, therefore, both in North Korea and in Lebanon. In March 1970, the group hijacked an airliner from Japan to North Korea. The North Korean government received the Pyongyang Hijacking Group (the *Yodo-go* group) as heroes of the "communist revolution." They lived in comfort in North Korea and worked with their counterparts in Lebanon. After relocating to Lebanon, the JRA began working with the PFLP in 1971. The remaining JRA members in Japan had contact with both the PFLP 's leadership in Lebanon and officials of the PFLP who visited Japan.⁶ A woman JRA terrorist from Japan, Ms. Shigenobu Fusako led the faction in Lebanon, which also became known by the name of Arab Red Army, or *Arabu Sekigun*, . She ran this group together with her husband, Okudaira Takeshi, until he was killed as one of the three terrorist perpetrating the Lod Airport attack in May 1972. A part of the JRA faction that remained in Japan merged with *Kakumei Saha (Keihin Ampo Kyoto)* to form the United Red Army (URA or *Rengo Sekigun*) in December 1971.⁷

E. The Ideology of JRA

14. The JRA leadership, membership and support base shared a particular ideological vision. It centered around overthrowing the Japanese government (and its monarchy) and creating a world revolution. Marxist-Trotskite in ideology, JRA believed in conducting a violent, popular communist revolution all over the globe. During the first year of operation, the organization focused its activity on the domestic front, targeting Japanese "capitalist" targets such as the Cesar Ancestry and the

⁶ Peter Grose, "Israelis Say They Have Traced the Route of Three Terrorists from Japan to Tel Aviv Airport Massacre," *New York Times*, June 6, 1972

⁷ *Keihin Ampo Kyoto* was active in Japan from 1968-1972

Japanese Super Enterprises. But soon the organization shifted its focus to the international arena. The group had contact with likeminded foreign groups that share its ideological belief in world revolution such as the US based Weatherman, Black Panthers, and Students for a Democratic Society.⁸ Considering themselves both group members as well as soldiers, the JRA attempted to create uprisings in Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto, Japan's three major cities in September and October 1969. However, with the crackdown of the group by the Japanese police, the JRA transformed itself into an underground movement engaged in bombings, robberies and hijackings. The JRA believed in extreme violence: "Violent actions..... are shocking." A leader claimed: "We want to shock people, everywhere.....It is our way of communicating with the people."⁹

15. Throughout the 1970s, the ideology of the JRA was deeply influenced by their transformation into an international organization. This is best exemplified by a documentary made by Japanese supporters of the group in 1971.¹⁰ Collectively edited by the JRA and PFLP, the film provides insight into the motivations behind the Lod Airport attack. The film was a powerful tool to recruit new members and supporters. In the JRA's worldview, to create a world revolution, any violent act, no matter how heinous, would be justified.. The JRA claimed that its alliance with the PLFP was based on a common ideology. Together they declared a "world war and world revolution" against imperialism, Zionism, and Capitalism that, in their view, were responsible for oppressing people around the world. Armed struggle was also the best form of propaganda. According to the JRA's ideology, propaganda was about

⁸ James Miller, *Democracy is in the Streets: From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago* (New York; Simon and Schuster, 1987), pp 311-313

⁹ Gerard McKnight, *The Mind of the Terrorist* (London, Michael Joseph, 1974), p. 168.

¹⁰ *Sekigun-PFLP World Revolutionary Manifesto*, Wakamatsu Productions, available at film <http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-8930728731601020942#>

disseminating information and truth, which can only be done through armed struggle. Violence was the language of the oppressed, since they had no other method of expressing themselves to the world. Similarly, the PLFP believed that their violence was a form of a self-defense against the Israelis. They believed themselves to be living a so-called “true revolution.” In an interview with Laila Khaled, the infamous female Palestinian plane hijacker, she emphasized the importance of uniting all the revolutionaries around the world with the same objective, to universally fight against imperialism. These organizations taught their member that world revolution was their only priority. The terrorists of the JRA and PFLP believed that the revolution would come in various forms, and that no distinction should be made between guerilla warfare (against military forces) and urban warfare – that is, terrorism. Any type of armed struggle according to the JRA is warfare, and its rank and file believed that it is a revolution that needs to be pursued at an international level. Both the PLFP and JRA called for international unity in pursuit of their dangerous cause; coordinating terror attacks together was part of their plan for a unified war.

F. The Role of North Korea

16. The first state to provide support and resources to the JRA was North Korea. The JRA’s mantra of global revolution was attractive to the communist countries – Soviet Union, China, North Korea and Cuba. Ideologically Stalinist, the North Korean regime wished to propagate its leader Kim Il Sung’s “Juche” ideology. To that end, North Korea sponsored a dozen left wing armed groups, including the JRA. Brian Crozier, Director of the Institute for the Study of Conflict in London, testified before the United States Congress that, ‘During the past seven years, it may be estimated that some 2,500 terrorists and guerrillas have been trained in the North

Korean camps, which accommodate about 200 at a time and are controlled by the Defence Ministry in Pyongyang.”¹¹ Other estimates suggested that between 3000-4000 terrorists and guerrillas were training in North Korea by the end of 1974.¹²

17. Palestinian terrorist groups had links with communist regimes and and their leaders were well received both in China and North Korea.¹³ Dr. George Habash, the leader of PFLP, visited North Korea from September 2-14, 1970.¹⁴ This official visit by Habash to North Korea came at the time that the JRA hijackers from Japan were living there.¹⁵ Indeed, North Korea facilitated an introductory meeting between Habash and the JRA fugitives who had been provided safe haven there.¹⁶

18. In addition to providing “substantial financial and other aid” including “supplying arms”, “Pyongyang Government has continued the financial support that it gives to many Arab publications by paying them to print articles about North Korean affairs.”¹⁷ Along with China, North Korea provided sanctuary, ideological and military training, and other assistance to these groups.¹⁸ In addition to the JRA, North Korea also assisted the New Peoples Army (NPA) in the Philippines, some Palestinian, Japanese and South Korean terrorist and other extremist groups. North Korea also provided weapons and dual user technologies to several groups. North

¹¹ The Guardian of Liberty, Munich, January 31, 1973; Der Bund Bern, April 25, 1973; Berner Tagblatt, October 30, 1973, cited in Terroristic activity, International Terrorism: Hearings Before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Ninety Fourth Congress, First Session, Part 4, Washington, D.C., May 14, 1975, pp. 194.

¹² Joseph S. Bermudez Jr. “Terrorism: The North Korean Connection”(Crane Russak, New York, 1990, p. 7.

¹³ Yitzhak Schichor, *The Middle East in China’s Foreign Policy, 1949-1977* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979), p. 157

¹⁴ *Id.* and [Cobban, Helena](#) (1984). *The Palestinian Liberation Organisation: People, Power, and Politics*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 31–32.

¹⁵ Eric Pace, “Lebanon is set to have set up Liaison Unit with Commandos” *New York Times*, September 23, 1972 and Peter Grose, Terrorists: Four Minutes of Horror at the Airport,” *Id.*, June 4 1972.

¹⁶ See Claire Sterling, *The Terror Network* (New York, N.Y. Holt, Rinehart, & Winston 1981), p. 125

¹⁷ *Id.*

¹⁸ *Patterns of Global Terrorism*, U.S. State Department, Washington, D.C., March 1989, pp. 44

Korean assistance to various terrorist groups increased between 1969-1980, the time frame in which the JRA was most active.¹⁹

19. Joseph S. Bermudez, an expert on North Korea, remarked, that, as of the mid-1970s, North Korea maintained 6-10 training facilities and numerous overseas training and advisory missions. Long term training courses lasting between 12-24 months were located in the “vicinity of P'yongyang (Wonhung-ri), Yongbyon, Sangwon, Haeju, Namp'o, and Wonsun.”²⁰ The subjects covered included advanced command and staff skills, communications, intelligence and medical training. The three to six month short-term training courses, conducted overseas, included basic skills such as marksmanship, communication, map reading, ambush, and counter-ambush and explosives, sabotage, intelligence, propaganda and psychological warfare, kidnapping, and assassination. Among the groups trained included the JRA and PFLP from 1969-1974.²¹ Responsible for liaising with these groups, North Korea's intelligence service mounted terrorist and terrorist support operations.

20. Although North Korea attempted to conceal its sponsorship of the JRA, the evidence is well documented. To quote the US State Department's *Patterns of Global Terrorism*, “North Korea supported at least some members of the JRA. A faction of the group, presently consisting of six members, is based in P'yongyang, Japanese police believe that Yasuhiro Shibata, a JRA member arrested in Tokyo in May, was ‘run’ by North Korean intelligence agents. Shibata was using the identity of a former North Korean resident of Japan who had immigrated to North Korea in 1972. Japanese police today continue to track attempts by North Korean spy rings to acquire Japanese passports, some of which have been provided to the JRA in the past.”²²

¹⁹ *Supra* Bermudez, p. 7.

²⁰ *Id.*

²¹ *Id.*

²² *Patterns of Global Terrorism*, US State Department, Washington, D.C., March 1989, pp. 49.

21. In a 1972 article in the *Washington Post*, it was reported that confidential memos were sent from U.S. Ambassador Bill Buffum in Lebanon, stating that North Korea was providing “financial and material assistance directly to the PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) and other avowedly revolutionary organizations with nary a qualm about the adverse effects such assistance might have on this country’s delicate political system.”²³

22. Benefiting from North Korea’s assistance, the JRA in North Korea and the JRA in Lebanon worked together.²⁴ Although the *Yodo-go* group in North Korea had adopted Kim Il Sung’s Juche ideology within a couple of years of living in North Korea, Shigenobu and others maintained contact with them. Shigenobu, who was based in the Syrian controlled Bekaa Valley, personally knew most of the *Yodo-go* hijackers. They were all members of the original RAF and her former boyfriend Takamaro Yamiya lead the North Korean faction.. Furthermore, a *Yodo-go* plane hijacker Okamoto Takeshi was the brother of Kozo Okamoto, who would be the only survivor of the Lod Airport attack.²⁵

23. Shigenobu and one other member of her group traveled to Pyongyang, to discuss North Korean support. The individual who accompanied her to North Korea stayed for about a year until she returned from Lebanon to retrieve him.

24. In addition to supporting the JRA in North Korea and Lebanon, North Korean intelligence services specifically utilized JRA members in North Korea to advance its interests. In the latter part of the 1970s, some JRA members in North Korea were active in various parts of Europe and there were some additional personal contacts during that time. There were other occasions where the North Koreans

²³ Jack Anderson, “Fedayeen Said to Seek Reprisals,” *Washington Post* (Sep. 13, 1972). Jack Anderson was widely known to have had access to executive branch sources at the time of this report.

²⁴ *Supra* Farrell, p. 218

²⁵ *Id.*, , p. 85 and Patricia Steinhoff, “Portrait of a Terrorist: An interview with Kozo Okamoto, *Asian Survey*, Issue 16, September 1976.

covertly created anti-nuclear front groups in the West in Europe and the JRA members staffed them. In addition to publishing North Korean propaganda widely, since the mid 1990s, they have been active on the Internet.

25. North Korean President Kim-il Sung, who visited with the JRA faction being provided refuge in his country, wanted to realize the revolution being passed down through the generations. Both JRA and North Korean intelligence were in contact with six Japanese women in Europe throughout the 1980s. They were wives and the ex-wife of the JRA cell in North Korea. In total, 12 Japanese nationals were lured to North Korea: According to the National Police Agency of Japan, five such abductees have been repatriated to Japan since 2002. At least 17 of their children returned to Japan.

26. The JRA faction in North Korea was heavily controlled by the North Korean government and in fact acted as agents of that government. One of the nine JRA members who hijacked a plane to North Korea in 1970, Yoshimi Tanaka was involved in a North Korean operation to counterfeit U.S. dollars.²⁶ Traveling in a North Korean diplomatic vehicle, he was arrested on the Vietnamese-Cambodian border. As he failed to cooperate in his interrogation, he was handed over to Japan in 2000.

27. After 38 years on the run, two members of JRA in North Korea met with a visiting EU delegation and said that they are prepared to go home and face trial. Living in North Korea since 1970, when they took part in the hijacking of a Japan airlines plane, they met with a European parliament member and set conditions for their return home. They attempted to extract concessions for North Korea: they asked that North Korea be delisted as a state sponsor of terror.

²⁶ Aileen Gallagher, *The Japanese Red Army*, (Rosen Publishing Group, New York, 2003), p. 50.

G. JRA Operations

28. The JRA operated worldwide, alone and in tandem with the PFLP and other terrorist groups, in North America, Europe, Middle East and Asia. The alliance terrorist continued to be affiliated with and supported by North Korea. The JRA-PFLP-North Korean relationship was apparent when the JRA-PFLP alliance attacked a Shell oil refinery complex on Pulau Bukom in Singapore on January 31, 1974.²⁷ After the attack, the terrorists hijacked the Laju ferry. A message signed by JRA and PFLP hijackers said, "...We wish to contact with the Diplomatic Mission of North Korea for our escaping to Arab country. But we cannot understand why your country have the missions both South false Korea and North true Korea [sic]. As long as your documents to give us are correct, we hope to do so [sic]. But our final destination is the Arab country. So we are worrying [sic] whether the Korean Ambassador would be able to accept our proposal or not. The best way we can imagine is getting the permission of Korean Embassy in Arab for accepting us. Now, we have the favours to ask for you [sic]. Please try to contact with Korean Ambassador immediately.... [sic]"

²⁸At the request of the JRA and PFLP hijackers, the Singapore government held two meetings with the North Korean Consul General in Singapore .²⁹

29. Lee Kuan Yew, the then Prime Minister of Singapore wrote to North Korean President Kim Il Sung, "Your Excellency will no doubt have been informed by your Diplomatic Mission in Singapore of the request made by two members of the Japanese Red Army and two members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine requesting the assistance of your Mission for arrangements to proceed to a

²⁷ Omer Ali Saifudeen, "I have to take charge of this: Lessons from the Laju Crisis," *Home Team Journal*, 2009, No. 1, p. 19. Then Singapore was the world's third largest refining centre after Houston and Rotterdam.

²⁸ "Hijackers pick N. Korean Mission," *Straits Times*, February 6, 1974, p. 1 and 20.

²⁹ Leslie Fong, "Pyongyang 'hotline' talks and a final offer to 4 hijackers: Drama Before the Flight to Kuwait – 2 guns and, knife handed over," *Id.*, p. 1 and 24.

country outside Singapore.”³⁰ The Japanese government dispatched a JAL flight to take the hijackers to Kuwait.³¹ The five terrorists that seized the Japanese Embassy in Kuwait and took 12 hostages and four terrorists that hijacked the ferry in Singapore were officially received by the Marxist South Yemen government in Aden.³²

H. Use of Terrorism

30. Since its inception, the JRA used terrorism and urban guerrilla warfare extensively. The modus operandi of the JRA was to chose spectacular targets for its attacks. The JRA was attracted to targets such as hijacking commercial aircrafts in mid air, assaulting airports, barricading Western embassies and taking hostages. It was the JRA that introduced the concept of perpetrating "no surrender" attacks in which the terrorists were ordered to fulfill their objectives or be killed.

31. The JRA’s most notorious attack was staged on May 30, 1972, when three of its members, traveling as tourists, arrived on Air France flight from Paris to Lod Airport. The attackers were Zoyoshi Okodaira, the wife of the JRA leader Shigenobu, Shin Yaswiki Yasuda and Kozo Okamoto, the brother of one of the JRA hijackers that had fled to North Korea. As their suitcases arrived on the luggage conveyer belt, they pulled out automatic rifles, bullets magazines and hand grenades. They started shooting indiscriminately at the passengers in the arrivals hall. The security apparatus in place at the time was lacking and it took time for the Israeli security guards to react. When the security forces opened fire, the arrivals hall at Lod Airport turned into a killing field. A total of 26 people were killed and approximately

³⁰ “Lee’s Pledge to Kim,” *Id.*

³¹ *Id.*, p. 1 and 24; “Embassy in Kuwait Seized...then Japan gives in to demand to fly out Laju hijackers: Plane on the way,” *Id.*, p. 1.

³² “Yemen gives guerrillas permission to go anytime,” *The Sunday Times*, Singapore, February 10, 1974, p. 1-2. *The Sunday Times* report was based on UPI and Reuter wires out of Beirut.

80 injured. They included Puerto Rican pilgrims and Israeli citizens, among them Prof. Aharon Katzir, a well known Israeli scientist.³³

32. During the ensuing massacre, Yasuda was killed. Okodaira himself managed to get out of the terminal and made his way to the runway shooting at an arriving El Al aircraft that has just landed. When Okodaira ran out of ammunition he blew himself up using his last hand grenade. Okamoto was seriously wounded and apprehended by the Israeli authorities. In his interrogation, Okamoto provided several details about the preparation for the attack. He said that the attack was planned in Lebanon by Wadi'a Hadad, the operational chief of the PFLP, and that the three were trained in PFLP training camps in Lebanon. The PFLP also provided the three with forged documents to be use at the operation. As part of an prisoner exchange deal between Israel and the Palestinian terrorist organization PFLP-GC, Okamoto was released in 1985 to Lebanon, where it is believed he remains to this day.³⁴

I. The JRA, After the Lod Massacre

33. After perpetrating the massacre at Lod Airpot, the JRA continued to cooperate with foreign terrorist organizations that shared its ideology. First and foremost, the JRA established a close relationship with the PFLP. The PFLP was established in 1967 by Dr. George Habash in order to violently promote Palestinian interests as well as leftist revolutionary ideology. In addition to JRA, the PFLP patronized several leftist terror group that operated in the international arena such as the German Bader-Meinhoff gang, the Italian Red brigade, and the Latin American

³³ Two years later, his brother, Prof. Ephraim Katzir, would go on to become the fourth president of the state of Israel.

³⁴ "Red Army members expelled by Lebanon" *Guardian*, March 2000. Those expelled were Masao Adachi, Kazuo Tohira, Haruo Wako, and Mariko Yamamoto.

terrorist “Carlos the Jackal’s.” organization. From its unlimited base of operation in Lebanon, the PFLP provided its comrade organization with training, weaponry, explosives and all the logistical and operational support and planning needed to conduct operation in the international arena.

34. The year after the Lod Airport attack, in late 1973, the Palestinian National Council (PNC) decided to stop operations in the international arena. Until then, the JRA depended on PFLP support. The acceptance of this resolution by PFLP leader Dr. George Habash created a split within the PFLP. The PFLP's operational officer, Wadi'a Haddad, broke off and established his own organization – the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine Special Operation Groups (PFLP-SOG). PFLP-SOG continued the global cooperated terror activity in the international arena until Hadad's death in 1978.

35. The JRA North Korea faction operated in the Philippines in the 1980's. The faction had links with the Communist Party of the Philippines/National Democratic Front/New People's Army (CPP/NPA/NDF).³⁵ Several NPA leaders were sent to train in Pyongyang, North Korea sometime in 1987.³⁶ It was also revealed that the two groups were involved also in joint operations such as kidnapping and a counterfeit money scheme which was later disrupted by the Philippine police. In addition, there were also indications that the JRA set up some businesses in the Philippines to act as shell/front companies for them.

36. On 6 June 1988, Hiroshi Sensui, a member of the JRA was arrested in the Philippines and subsequently deported back to Japan. It was suspected that Sensui had been setting up a base for attacks on the economic summit in Toronto and the Olympic Games in Seoul. Sensui is believed to have entered the Philippines in May

³⁵ Interview, General R. Mendoza, Philippine National Police, Manila, November 2009.

³⁶ *Id.*

1984 and posed as a businessman. In 2003, it was reported that Kunio Bando, a key member of the JRA who is on an international wanted list, had taken refuge in the Philippines in the summer of 2000. Bando is believed to have had taken refuge in a banana plantation in Negros (province in the Visayas region). There were indications that he left for China after that. Bando was in the wanted list for his involvement in hijacking a Japan airlines jet in 1977 while the plane was on a flight from Paris to Tokyo. In 2007, it was reported that Tatsuya Ichihashi, a ranking member of the JRA went on hiding in the Philippines. Ichihashi entered the Philippines using his own passport and that his entry had been recorded by passport control. Ichihashi went to Cebu from Manila disguised as a woman and would change his hideout every now and then to elude authorities. It has been speculated that he underwent plastic surgery to further elude the authorities. Moreover, other JRA members continued operating worldwide. Proof of this was seen in the arrest of Tsutomu Shiroasaki, a JRA member hiding in Nepal on September 21, 1996.³⁷ It was alleged that he was involved in a terrorist attack against U.S. and Canadian embassies in Indonesia.

J. Conclusion

37. The history of the JRA, from its creation until its demise, has shown that North Korea's state sponsorship was crucial for its survival. Indeed, the need for a patron state is common to all terrorist organizations. The United States State Department noted, in an official publication, that, "Without state sponsors, terrorist groups would have much more difficulty obtaining the funds, weapons, materials, and secure areas they require to plan and conduct operations."³⁸ As such, North Korean

³⁷ Interview, Amod Gurung, former Head of Counter Terrorism, Nepal, now with the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, U.N., New York, November 2009.

³⁸ *State Sponsors of Terrorism Overview, Country Reports on Terrorism*, Office of the Coordinator for Counter Terrorism, Department of State, Washington, D.C., April 30, 2007

state sponsorship of both the JRA and PFLP enabled both these groups to forge a partnership and mount attacks worldwide.³⁹

38. Operating out of two safe havens – North Korea and Lebanon – the JRA benefitted from their state sponsors. The JRA leaders and members traveled back and forth between North Korea and Lebanon. Tamiya Takamaro reflected upon the developments between the JRA structures in North Korea and Lebanon, Tamiya Takamaro, remarked from North Korea on March 31, 1988: “on the 18th anniversary of the Yodo-go hijacking...We have not been sleeping.....We have been preparing for battle. The preparations are completed. If we are told to fight in Japan, we will fight, and if we are told to do it internationally, we will do so.”⁴⁰ North Korea not only sponsored JRA directly but its operational partner PFLP as well. North Korean direct and indirect sponsorship and its provisions of material support was paramount for the survival, sustenance and operation of the JRA globally. Thus, all the terrorist operations carried out by the JRA and PFLP during the period of North Korean sponsorship, including the Lod Airport massacre should be seen as terrorist attacks attributable to North Korea's leadership and intelligence services as well.

39. North Korea was designated by the US as a state sponsor of terror in 1988, after its agents were implicated in the bombing of a South Korean airliner that killed 115 people. North Korea remained on the list until the Bush administration removed it on October 11, 2008, as part of a commitment by North Korea to dismantle its nuclear weapons program. In fact, North Korean involvement with terror extends beyond this narrow time frame – it supported terror in the 1960s and continues to do so until this very day. The Lod Airport massacre was but one heinous

³⁹ Eric Pace, “Lebanon is set to have set up Liaison Unit with Commandos” *New York Times*, September 23, 1972 and Peter Grose, Terrorists: Four Minutes of Horror at the Airport,” June 4, 1972

⁴⁰ Sassa Atsuyuki, a Japanese cabinet security affairs officer quoted in *Sunday Mainichi*, August 14, 1988, pp 138-41, quoted in *supra* Farrell, p.216.

consequence of the support that North Korea provided to terrorist groups, to further its goal of spreading communism internationally.

I declare, under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America, that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed on November 23, 2009



Rohan Gunaratna

EXHIBIT A

CURRICULUM VITAE: ROHAN GUNARATNA

PERSONAL DATA:

Date of Birth: Sept. 4, 1961, Colombo, Sri Lanka

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Citizenship: Sri Lankan

PROFILE:

For over 25 years, I have specialized on terrorist groups focusing on Asia.

CURRENT POSITION:

Head, International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR), and Professor of Security Studies, Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore

EDUCATION:

Ph.D. International Relations, University of St. Andrews, UK (1996-1999) Thesis title: *“Dynamics of Diaspora-Supported Terrorist Networks – Factors and Conditions Driving and Dampening International Support for PIRA, LTTE, PKK and Kashmiri groups.”* [Supervisor: Bruce Hoffman; Internal Examiner: Paul Wilkinson; and External Examiner: Gerard Chaliand]

MA International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame, Institute for International Peace Studies, USA (1995-1996). Thesis title: *Changing Nature of Warfare.* [Supervisor: George A. Lopez; Examiners: R. Scott Appleby and Bill DeMars]

HONORARY ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS:

Member, Advisory Board, European Homeland Security Association [May 2006 –_]

Senior Fellow, National Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism, Oklahoma [June 2006-_]

Associate, Macquarie University's Centre for Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism [November 2005-__]

Founder Member, Board of Governors, Council for Asian Terrorism Research (CATR), [August 2005-__]

Member, Steering Committee, George Washington University, Homeland Security Policy Institute, Washington DC [July 2004-__].

Founder Vice Chairman, International Counter Terrorism Academic Community (ICTAC) [2003--]

Honorary Fellow, Interdisciplinary Centre (Israel's first private university) International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism, Israel [Jan 1999-__]

Fellow, Royal Society of Arts, UK [2001-__]

REFERRED JOURNALS:

Serve on the editorial boards of the world's two leading terrorism studies journals – “Journal of Terrorism and Political Violence” and “Journal of Studies in Conflict and Terrorism”

Serve on the advisory council of the “Journal for Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism” of the Centre for Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism at Macquarie University, Sydney.

Served on the advisory board for three volume major study on terrorism edited by James J. Forrest, “Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century,” (West Port, Connecticut, London, Praeger Security International, 2007) Vol. I. Strategic and Tactical Considerations p. 665, Vol. II. Combating the Sources and Facilitators p. 612, and Vol. III. Lessons from the Fight against Terrorism p. 647

Serve as an external referee on terrorism for RAND publications. I reviewed articles on terrorism for National Geographic and books on terrorism for USIP, Washington D.C. I have endorsed books on terrorism for several university presses including Columbia and Stanford.

FELLOWSHIPS:

Senior Fellow, Fletcher School for Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, Boston’ [December 2005-December 2008]

Senior Fellow, United States Military Academy, Combating Terrorism Centre, West Point [March 2003-March 2006]

Visiting Professor, Centre for International and Security Studies, Sydney University, [June 2007 – July 2008]

Visiting Rosen Fellowship, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Washington DC August-September 2003

British Chevening Scholarship, Foreign and Commonwealth Office Award, UK to support Ph.D. (Three year award: 1996-1999)

Theodore M. Hesburgh Scholarship, University of Notre Dame to support MA, 1995-96.

Foreign Policy Fellowship, Centre for International and Security Studies at Maryland, University of Maryland, College Park, 1995 (four months). Faculty Advisor: Admiral Stansfield Turner

Ford Foundation Fellowship, Office of Arms Control, Disarmament, and International Security (ACDIS), University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana 1994 (four months) Grantee of Professor Stephen Cohen, leading US specialist on South Asian security.

UN Fellowship, Asian Institute of Journalism, Ateneo de Manila University, Communication Foundation for Asia, Manila, 1990 (three months).

PROFESSIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCE

Fellow and Special Assistant to the Chairman, Centre for the Study of Political Violence and Terrorism Research, and Fellow, University of St Andrews, 1999-2003. [After Bruce Hoffman left St Andrews in 1999, I managed the RAND-St Andrews International Terrorism Database.]

Teaching/Research Assistant to Director, Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame, Indiana, 1995/6

PROFESSIONAL AND ACADEMIC MEMBERSHIPS:

Co-chairman, NATO-PfP Working Group on Counter-Terrorism, Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes, Garmisch, Germany, Oct. 2002-Oct 2006. [Together with General Russ Howard, I chaired the working group for four years helping to build terrorism teaching and research programs in Eastern Europe and former USSR.]

Member, Advisory Board, Asia-Pacific Foundation, UK [appointed in 2001-2002]

Co-Chairperson, International Commission on Internal Conflicts (ICON) [1998-2000]

Member, International Advisory Council, Toda Institute for Peace and Public Policy, Hawaii [1998-2000]

Member, Nominations Committee, International Peace Research Association [1996-1999]

Council Member, Asia-Pacific Peace Research Association (APPRA), Japan [1994-1999]

Member, Advisory Council, World Bank-supported Poverty Alleviation Program [1993-1994]

Visiting Fellow, Institute of Strategic Studies (ISS), Pakistan, [1993-6]

Member, Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS), Sri Lanka [1993-4]

Founder Member and Member, South Asian Network on Conflict Research (SANCOR) [since 1991]

Visiting Scholar, Asian Social Institute, Philippines [1990].

Visiting Scholar, National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research, Maldives, [1986-9].

EXPERT TESTIMONY BEFORE COURTS OF LAW:

Court appointed counter terrorism expert in US, Canadian, UK and Bosnia-Herzegovina courts

Expert report for the defence of John Walker Lindh [American Taliban], first terrorist case to be prosecuted by the US Department of Justice after 9/11.

Expert report for the Crown Prosecution Service for the Leicester Special Branch, first Al Qaeda court case in the United Kingdom, 2002.

Expert report for the Crown Prosecution Service for the Kent Special Branch, BKI member in 2002

Expert report for the Crown Prosecution Service for the Kent Special Branch, PKK member in 2002.

Expert testimony and report for the US Department of Justice, Federal Court, Boise, Idaho, Samy al Hussein 2004.

Expert reports for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Force [Integrated National Security Enforcement Team] for the continued detention in 2003 of and on the website in 2004 of Momin Khawaja, first terrorist to be prosecuted under Canada's new terrorism act, 2001.

Expert testimony and report for the US Department of Justice, Federal Court, Miami, Florida, Jose Padilla, the alleged Al Qaeda bomber 2007

Expert report for the Crown Prosecution Service, Northern Ireland, Belfast, J.B. Ofrasio, the first Southeast Asian to be tried for terrorism in the West 2007.

Expert report for the US Department of Justice, Nuruddin Abdi, an Al Qaeda cell planning to bomb targets in Columbus, Ohio, and Washington D.C.

COMMISSIONED STUDIES AND CONSULTANCIES:

ASEAN Secretariat, Jakarta study on increasing the capacities of ASEAN and its Member Countries to respond to transnational crime, specifically, counter-terrorism and sea piracy. I recommended the creation of an ASEAN convention on counter-terrorism, January-February 2005

United Nations Monitoring Group into the Mobility, Weapons and Finance of Al Qaeda, Taliban and their Entities, I led the specialist team that designed and built its database in 2004-5

Risk Management Solutions, California (leading insurance analysis firm), I assisted in the design of the US and the Global Terrorism Risk Models, used by both governments and the private sector, 2003.

Maritime Intelligence Group, Washington DC, I assisted in the design of the Vigilance Vessel Profiling System (VVPS), a maritime platform for government agencies to profile the global commercial fleet, 2002.

Trident Maritime UK, study on Changing Face of Maritime Terrorism, 2001-2

International Peace Academy, New York, Multi-Year Study on Economic Agendas in Civil Wars: Policies and Practices for Regulating Resource Flows to Armed Conflict, 2001-2

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan, Study on Asia-Pacific Terrorist Threats, G8 Security Summit, Okinawa, Japan, July 2000

RAND Study on Terrorist Support Networks, 2000

RAND Study on Access Control to White House, Pennsylvania Ave, 2000.

Monterey Institute of International Studies, Center for Non-proliferation Studies. Study on propensity of terrorist groups to employ CBRN, 2000.

United States Institute of Peace, Washington DC, Study the Causes, Consequences, and Characteristics of Suicide Terrorism in the Middle East and in South Asia, 1999-2000

NATO Study on PKK Organisation in Europe, 1999

Institute of Strategic Studies, Ministry of Defence, Sri Lanka. Study on LTTE Air Capability, Potential and Likely Future Trends, 1999.

TPI Productions, Virginia. Advisor to Mind of the Terrorist, Cyber Warfare, and Piracy, US Films, 1997-1998.

Carnegie Commission for the Prevention of Deadly Conflict, New York. With Dr Bruce Hoffman, the propensity of terrorists to employ CBRN, 1997.

Toyota Foundation, Japan, Study on UN-NGO reform, 1998.

International Alert, UK. Studies on Sri Lankan peace negotiations (1991, 1997) and socio-economic costs of warfare (1997).

SELECT PUBLICATIONS:

Books:

Countering Terrorism: Can We Meet the Threat of Global Violence? with Michael Chandler, (London: Reaktion Books, 2007)

Conflict and Terrorism in Southern Thailand with Arabinda Acharya, and Sabrina Chua (Regionalism & Regional Security), (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Academic, 2006)

(Editor) *Combating Terrorism (Regionalism & Regional Security)*, (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Academic, 2005)

Counterterrorism: A Reference Handbook with Graeme C.S. Steven (Contemporary World Issues) (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004)

(Editor) *The Changing Face of Terrorism* (Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, 2004)

(Editor) *Terrorism in the Asia-Pacific: The Threat and Response* (Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, 2003)

Jane's Counter Terrorism, with Peter Chalk (London and Washington, D.C.: Jane's Information Group 2002),

Inside Al Qaeda: The Global Network of Terror (New York: Colombia University Press, 2002), also published by Berkeley Books, Penguin Imprint US; Hurst, London; Autrement Frontieres, Paris; Roli, India; Scribe, Australia, and other publishers.

International Dimension of the Sri Lankan Conflict: Threat and Response, Monograph Series on Ethnic Reconciliation (Colombo: Marga Institute, 2001)

Sri Lanka's Ethnic Conflict and National Security (Colombo: South Asian Network on Conflict Research, 1998)

International and Regional Security Implications of the Sri Lankan Tamil Insurgency (London: International Foundation of Sri Lankans, 1997)

Indian Intervention in Sri Lanka (Colombo: South Asian Network on Conflict Research, 1993)

Sri Lanka; A Lost Revolution? (Colombo: Institute of Fundamental Studies, 1990)

War and Peace in Sri Lanka, With a Post-Accord Report from Jaffna (Colombo: Institute of Fundamental Studies, 1987)

Sino-Lankan Connection. (Colombo: Department of Information, Ministry of State, 1986)

Book Chapters and Journals:

2007:

“Combating Al Qaeda and Associated Groups” In, Doron Zimmermann and Anders Wenger (eds.), *How States Fight Terrorism: Policy Dynamics in the West* (Boulder and London, Lynne Rienner, 2007) 175-200

“The Evolution of al Qaeda”, In, Thomas J. Biersteker and Sue E. Eckert (eds.), *Countering the Financing of Terrorism* (London, Routledge, 2007) 47-62

‘Ideology in terrorism and counter terrorism: lessons from al Qaeda”, In, Anne Aldis and Graeme P. Herd (eds.) *The Ideological War on Terror: World-wide Strategies for Counter-Terrorism* (London: Routledge, 2007) 21-34

“Combating Al Jama’ah al Islamiyyah in Southeast Asia” In, Anne Aldis and Graeme P. Herd (eds.) *The Ideological War on Terror: World-wide Strategies for Counter-Terrorism* (London: Routledge, 2007) 431-450

“Jemaah Islamiyah and the Threat of Chemical and Biological Terrorism”, with Adam Dolnik, In, Russell D. Howard and James J.F. Forrest (eds.) *Weapons of Mass Destruction and Terrorism* (New York, McGraw-Hill/Contemporary Learning Series, 2007) 280-294.

“Terrorism in Southeast Asia: Threat and Response,” In, Andrew Tan (ed.), *A Handbook of Terrorism and Insurgency in Southeast Asia* (Cheltenham and Northampton, Edward Elgar, 2007) 437-450.

“Terrorist Finance and the Criminal Underground”, With Arabinda Archarya, In, Michelle Innes (ed.), *Denial of Sanctuary, Understanding Terrorist Safe Havens*, (West Port, Connecticut, London: Praeger, 2007) 97- 111

“Countering the Ideology of Jemaah Islamiyah: A Point-by-Point Approach”, with Mohamed Bin Ali, *The ICFAI Journal of International Relations*, Volume 1 Number 1, (April 2007) 65- 84

“Ideology in Terrorism and Counter Terrorism Lessons from Combating Al-Qaeda and Al Jemaah Al Islamiyah in Southeast Asia”, In, Abdul Halim bin Kader (ed.) *Fighting Terrorism: The Singapore Perspective*, (Singapore, Malay Youth Library Association, 2007) 56-94

2006:

‘Al Qaeda in Europe: Today’s Battlefield,’ in Karen J. Greenberg (ed), *Al Qaeda Now, Understanding Today’s Terrorists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 42-46

“The Terror Market”, *Harvard International Review*, Volume 27 Issue 4 (Winter 2006) 66-69

‘On the Nature of Religious Terrorism,’ with Adam Dolnik in Jeffrey Haynes (ed), *The Politics of Religion: A Survey* (London: Routledge, 2006) 83-91

‘Al Qaeda’s Lose and Learn Doctrine: The Trajectory from Oplan Bojinka to 9/11,’ in James J.F. Forrest (ed), *Teaching Terror: Strategic and Tactical Learning in the Terrorist World* (Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield, 2006) 171-188

“The Terrorist Training Camps of Al Qaeda” with Arabinda Acharya, in James J.F. Forrest (ed.), *The Making of a Terrorist: Recruitment, Training, and Root Causes* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger Security International, 2006) 172-193.

“Thailand,” With Arabinda Archarya, In, Derek Reveron and Jeffrey S. Murer (eds), *Flashpoints in the War on Terrorism*, (London: Routledge, 2006) 137-158

“India’s Role in Ethnic Crisis in Sri Lanka”, With Arabinda Acharya, M.B. Munshi (ed), *The India Doctrine*, Dhaka: Bangladesh Research Forum (2006) 265-283.

“An Al Qaeda Associate Group Operating in China?” With Kenneth George Pereire, *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly*, Volume 4, No. 2. (2006) 55-61.

“Terrorism in Southeast Asia: Threat and Response”, *Centre for Eurasian Policy Occasional Research Paper Series II* (Islamism in Southeast Asia), No.1, Hudson Institute, 2006, 1-12

“The Threat to the Maritime Domain: How Real is the Terrorist Threat?”, William B. Ruger Chair of National Security Economics Papers, *Economics and Maritime Strategy: Implications for the 21st Century* Number 2 , (Rhode Island, New Port, Naval War College, 2006) 81-89

2005:

“Event-Driven Document Selection for Terrorism,” With Zhen Sun, Ee-Peng Lim, Kuiyu Chang, Teng-Kwee Ong, IEEE International Conference on Intelligence and Security Informatics (IEEE ISI-2005) Atlanta, Georgia, May 2005 (Received Best IEEE Research Paper Award) 37-48

“Responding to the Post 9/11 Structural and Operational: Challenges of Global Jihad”, *The Quarterly Journal, PfP Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes*, (2005) 9- 42

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2004:

“The Post-Madrid Face of Al Qaeda”, *Washington Quarterly*, Volume 27 Issue 3, (Summer 2004) 91- 100

‘The al-Qaeda Threat and the International Response,’ David Martin Jones (ed) *Globalisation and the New Terror: The Asia-Pacific Dimension* (Cheltenham, UK; Northhampton, MA: Edward Elgar Pub., 2004) 51-69.

“Understanding Al Qaeda and its networks in South East Asia,” In, Kumar Ramakrishna & See Seng Tan (ed) *After Bali: The Threat of Terrorism in Southeast Asia* (Singapore, World Scientific, 2004) 117-113

Al Qaeda Adapts to Disruption, *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, January 2004

2003:

‘Defeating Al Qaeda – The Pioneering Vanguard of the Islamic Movements,’ Russel D. Howard and Reid L. Sawyer, *Defeating Terrorism: Shaping the New Security Environment* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2003) 1-28.

‘Sri Lanka: Feeding the Tamil Tigers,’ Karen Ballentine and Jake Sherman (eds.) *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance* (Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner, 2003) 197-224.

‘Al-Qaeda: organization and operations,’ Mary Buckley and Rick Fawn (eds.) Global Responses to Terrorism: 9/11, the War in Afghanistan, and Beyond (London: Routledge, 2003) 37-51.

‘Suicide Terrorism: A Global Threat’ Pamala Griset and Sue Mahan (eds.) (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2003) 220-226.

‘Terrorist Trends and Patterns in the Asia-Pacific Region’ In, Andrew Tan and Kumar Ramakrishna (eds.) The New Terrorism: Anatomy, Trends and Counter Strategies (Singapore, Times Academic Press, 2002) 129-156.

“The New Face of Al Qaeda: Understanding the Generational Gradient in Local and Global Jihad Campaigns,’ *Pointer, Journal of the Singapore Armed Forces*, Vol. 29, No. 4. Oct-Dec 2003, 40-52.

‘Peace Talks: The Transformation of Terror’ *South Asia Intelligence Review*, Vol. 1. No. 10, Sept. 23, 2002, 1-4

‘Inside Al-Qaeda,’ *South Asia Politics*, Vol. 1, No. 7, November 2002, 23-26.

‘The Singapore Connection’ *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, March 2003, 8-10.

2002:

‘Confronting the West: Al Qaeda’s Strategy After 11 September,’ *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, July 2002, 27-29.

‘Al Qaeda Infrastructure in Asia,’ *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, Vol. 14, No. 1, January 2002, 18-20.

2001:

“Financing Strategies of Terrorist Organisations,” In, Alex Schmid (ed.), *Combating Terrorism Through International Co-operation* (Rome, ISPAC and UN Terrorism Prevention Branch, 2001)150-182

“Transnational Terrorism: Threat and Response,” *Stanford Journal of International Relations*, Vol.1 No. 5. (Summer 2001) 38-48

‘The Asymmetric Threat from Maritime Terrorism’ *Jane’s Navy International*, October 2001

‘Suicide Terrorism in Sri Lanka and India,’ In Boaz Ganor (ed.), *Combating Suicide Terrorism* (Israel, International Policy Institute for Counter Terrorism, 2001) pp. 40-50

“Suicide Terrorism” In Leo Gleser, (ed.), Security 2000 – Israel (Israel, International Security & Defence Systems, 2001)

‘Blowback: Al Qaeda Organisation,’ *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, Vol. 13 No. 7, August 2001, 42-45 (lead article)

“Taking on the Kidnappers,” with Magnus Ranstorp, Global Crime Watch, *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, Vol. 13 No. 5, May 2001, 10-11

“The Structure and Nature of GAM,” *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, Vol. 13 No. 4, April 2001, 33-35.

“Terrorist Trends Suggest Shift of Focus to National Activities,” *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, Vol. 13 No. 6, June 2001, 47-49

“LTTE Adopts Heavy Artillery,” *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, Vol. 13 No. 6, June 2001, 25-27.

“Transnational Threats in the post-Cold War era,” *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, Vol. 13 No. 1, January 2001, 46-50 (lead article)

‘Cracking down on Terrorist Financing,’ *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, Vol. 13 No. 11 October 2001

‘Special Report: Terror from the Sky’ *Jane’s Intelligence Report*, Vol. 13 No. 10, September 2001, 14-17

‘Nepal’s Insurgents Balance Politics and Violence,’ *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, Vol. 13 No. 10, September 2001, 10-13.

‘Intelligence Failures Exposed by Tamil Tiger Airport Attack,’ *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, Vol. 13 No. 9, August 2001, 6-9.

The Evolution and Tactics of the Abu Sayyaf Group,’ *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, Vol. 13 No. 7, June 2001, 8-11.

‘Terrorism Act Proscribes 21 Groups,’ *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, Vol. 13 No. 4, April 2001, 4.

‘Sea Tiger Success Threatens the Spread of Copycat Tactics,’ *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, Vol. 13 No. 3, March 2001, 8-11.

‘Transnational Threats in the post-Cold War Era,’ *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, Vol. 13, No 1, January 2001, 5-8.

2000:

“Suicide Terrorism: Threat and Response,” In Gerard Chaliand (ed.), *Trends in Terrorism* (Paris, Military Academy of France, 2000) 55-75.

“The State-of-the-Art in the Illicit Trafficking of Conventional Weapons: The Impact and Response of the State and the International Community” (Ministry of Defence, Switzerland, 2000)

‘Transnational Terrorism: Support Networks and Trends,’ In, KPS Gill and Ajai Sahani (eds), *Faultlines, Writings on Conflict and Resolution*, Vol. 7 (New Delhi: Bulwark Books and the Institute for Conflict Management, 2000)

‘Anti-Ocalan faction emerges in PKK,’ *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, Vol. 12 No. 10, September 2000, 3

‘Suicide Terrorism: A Global Threat,’ *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, Vol. 12 No. 5, April 2000, 24-27

‘Bankrupting the Terror Business,’ *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, Vol. 12, No. 8, August 2000, 51-55.

‘Terrorist Threats Targets Asia,’ *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, Vol. 12 No. 9, July 2000, 37-41

1999:

‘Regional Conflicts and Peacemaking in South Asia,’ In, Majid Tehranian (ed.) *Asian Peace: Security and Governance in the Asia-Pacific Region* (London, I.B. Taurus, 1999), 112-131

‘Illicit Transfer of Conventional Weapons – The Role of State and Non-state Actors in South Asia,’ In, Jayantha Dhanapala, Mitsuro Donawaki, et al, (ed). *Small Arms Control, Old Weapons, New Issues*, (Aldershot, UNIDIR and Ashgate, 1999) 251-278

“Internationalisation of the Tamil Conflict” In I.B. Watson and Siri Gamage (eds.) *Conflict and Community in Sri Lanka* (London, Sage, 1999)

1998:

“Impact of the Mobilized Tamil Diaspora on the Protracted Conflict in Sri Lanka.” In Kumar Rupesinghe, (ed.) *Negotiating Peace in Sri Lanka: Efforts, Failures and Lessons*. (London: International Alert, 1998) 301-328.

1997:

“Internationalisation of the Tamil Conflict. Conflict and Community in Sri Lanka.” In I.B. Watson and Siri Gamage (eds.), *South Asian Studies*, Special Issue, XX (1997) 119-155.

“Sri Lanka,” *World Terrorism Encyclopaedia* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), 340-461.

“Kashmir,” *World Terrorism Encyclopedia* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), 260-296.

1995:

‘US Response to Terrorism in South Asia,’ *Monograph Series*, Centre for International and Security Studies at Maryland, 1995.

“Regional and International Security Implications of the Kashmiri and Tamil Insurgencies.” *Journal of Strategic Perspectives*, Vol. 3 No. 3 (1995) 33-56.

1994:

“The Burden of Ethnicity, Insurgency and Security in Sri Lanka.” In Marvin Weinbaum and Chetan Kumar (eds.) *South Asia Approaches the Millennium-Re-examining National Security*. (Colorado: Westview Press, 1994).

I have also published in Jane’s Global Assessment, UK; Pointer, UK; and several defense and security journals.

Other Publications:

“Foreword”, In, Stewart Bell, *Cold Terror: How Canada Nurtures and Exports Terrorism Around the World*, (Canada, John Wiley, 2007) xi-xiv

“Strategic Counter-Terrorism: Getting Ahead of Terrorism,” The Jebsen Centre for Counter-Terrorism Studies Research Briefing Series, Vol. 1 No. 1 (December 2006) 1-7

“Countering the Financing of Terrorism” With Gunawan Husin and Arabinda Acharya, IDSS Policy Brief No. 1, 2006, 1-4

‘Inside Al Qaeda,’ US Army Official DVD [St Antonio, 690th Computer Systems Squadron, Joint Information Operations Centre, 2006] Disc 1-3

“Fight for hearts and minds- September 11- The Fifth Anniversary”, *The Australian*, (9 September 2006)

“Expect more and deadlier terror attacks this year”, *Straits Times*, (11 January 2006)

‘Ideology in Terrorism and Counter Terrorism: Lessons from Combating Al Qaeda and Al Jemaah Al Islamiyah in Southeast Asia’ Defence Academy of the United Kingdom, CSRC Discussion Paper; 02/42, September 19, 2005, 1-29

“Time to get Tough Asia’s War on Terror must be waged on Multiple Fronts”, *Time Magazine*, Asia Edition, Vol. 166, No. 16, (October 17, 2005)

“Indonesia must outlaw JI and its band of supporters”, *The Australian*, (3 October 2005) Foreword, In, Lars Erslev Andersen and Jan Aagaard, ‘*In the Name of God*’ (Odense, University Press of Southern Denmark, 2005) 15-18

Foreword, In, Moonis Ahmer (ed.), *Violence and Terrorism in South Asia 1971-2004* (Karachi, University of Karachi, Department of International Relations, 2005) VII-VIII.

Foreword, In, Michael Richardson, *A Time Bomb for Global Trade: Maritime-Related Terrorism in an Age of Weapons of Mass Destruction* (Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2004) vi-x.

“Radical Islamist Terrorism in Southeast Asia”, Conference Papers, International Studies Association, Annual Meeting, Montreal Canada (2004) 1-7

“Spain; An Al-Qaeda Hub?” UNISCI Discussion Papers, May 2004, 1-8

‘Cooking for Terrorists’ Times Higher Education Supplement, 14/2, 2003, Issue 1576, p. 20, 2p, 9bw

‘Still Threatening,’ World Today, January 2003, Vol. 59 Issue 1, p. 19, 3p, 1bw.

‘New Al Qaeda: Developments in the Post-9-11 Evolution of Al Qaeda,’ Conflict Studies Research Centre, Defence Academy of the United Kingdom, November 19-21, 2003.

The Genealogy of Al Qaeda, Gaiko Forum, Vol. 4 No. 3 (Fall 2003) 14-23.

‘Al Qaeda in the Asia-Pacific: Origin, Capability, and Threat, *IIAS Newsletter*, No. 29, November 2002.